Protest movement in tasawwuf malamites - secret dervish

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Abstract. The main idea of the Malamite movement that formed in the 9th-10th centuries within the framework of tasawwuf was the principle of "hiding the good , showing the bad." The Malamiya movement played a leading role in the formation of such later tariqats as Qalandariyya, Heydariya, Qizilbash-Alevis, as well as Safaviyya, Bayramiyya. The Malamites, who were active initially in Khorasan and Azerbaijan, spread to Anatolia beginning in the 13th century and exerted a powerful influence on the Alevi-Bektashi tariqats and Sufi movements that emerged in this geographical area. The Malamiya, which is considered a tasawwuf movement that emerged in Khorasan, had a very deep and extensive influence.

Key words: *Malamiyya, Protest Activity in Tasawwuf , Secret Dervishism, Tarikats.*

The history of the emergence of malamiyya. When and by whom the movement was created remains a mystery. Derived from the Arabic verb "lawama " ((لوم, the word "malamiyya" ((ملامئة means "to censure, to scold, to consider inappropriate". At first, functioning as a form of behavior, attitude, and later, as a tariqah, malamiyya was based on the following principles: "not to shy away from being the object of criticism of people; not to submit to the will of the desires and aspirations *of the nafs* ; to keep spiritual states secret." Abu Hafs al-Haddad, who is considered one of the first representatives of the Malamatiyya movement, explained the essence of the movement as follows: "In order to be on par with the True Lord - not to divulge one's secret, to become an object of criticism, in the name of service and closeness (to the Lord - Ed.), to be condemned by society, provided that one points out only the mistakes and misdeeds of the people, without highlighting their good deeds." This explanation gives grounds to speak about the secret

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way of life of the Malamites, as hidden dervishes. Although there are various studies on the emergence of the Malamati movement, as a reaction to the protest against the activities of the Karramiyya, which was widely functioning in Khorasan, in reality the question of who laid its foundations remains controversial. The Nishapur scholar Hamdun Kassar (d. 884) played a major role in the formation of the tariqa. According to the Risale Qushayri by Abulqasim Abdulkarim ibn Khawazan al-Qushayri, the movement called *Malamatiyya* is "a Sufi movement (created – Ed.) by Abu Saleh Hamdun ibn Ahmad ibn Ammar al-Qassar from Nishapur." Therefore, the founder of the Malamit movement of Nishapur is Sheikh Hamdun al-Qassar. This movement was sometimes called Qassariyya. The Malamites, who lead a pious life, are considered to be the first Sufi jamaat in the history of Islam (1).

Considering that most representatives of the Anatolian Malamite tariqas trace their roots back to the Malamiya, through the Safavid sheikh Sadraddin, it can be said that the Malamiya also contributed to the formation of the foundations of the Safawi tariqa. It is very difficult to determine exactly how, under what conditions, and when a number of Sufi movements emerged in the Muslim East. In order to study this issue, various assumptions have been put forward, and many works have been created.

The currents that attracted the most attention in the last 50 years of the Umayyad rule, sometimes correctly and sometimes incorrectly, designated as *shu'ubiyya, malamiyya*, *zanadiqa* (2) , *mulhid* (3) , with the coming to power of the Abbasids received wide scope for activity for themselves (4). As a result, new religious concepts and ideas began to form among non-Arab Muslims in Khorasan, Azerbaijan, and Maverannahr, and these groups, possessing broader ideas than the Arab-centrist dogmatism of the Umayyad period (5) , created (7) a relatively global Islamic worldview (6) .

Although the tasawwuf that emerged in the Islamic region was generally based on the Koran, deep traces of the forms of development of such a way of life are geographically felt in Khorasan. At the time of the birth of Islam, Khorasan seemed to resemble a mosaic of peoples and beliefs. The territory of Khorasan, stretching from the Rhine to Fergana (together with Maverannahr), with the arrival of the Abbasids began to play the role of the brain center of the Islamic East. Khorasan, together with the Turkic and Iranian elements, which also welcomed

heretical Arab groups, especially starting from the 10th century, became the center of the emerging Sufi movements (8).

Khorasan was also the center of religious and social movements based on the principles of the Manichaean, Mazdakite and Zoroastrian faiths. In this context, such leaders of religiously motivated socio-political movements as Bihaferid, Sindib, Rawandiya, Ustad Sis, Ibn Mughanna, who united the broad masses around themselves, left a deep imprint on Islamic religious consciousness. The common feature of these movements was the concepts of *rijat* (9) and *tanasukh, which exist in heterodox Sufi movements.* (10) .

The name *Dervish* and its meaning. The origin of the name "Dervish" is not fully known. It is assumed that the name "drigosh, deryos, and drigu" found in Zend-Avesta is usually designated as "dervish" in Dari (11). The word "darishan" in Dari was used in the sense of "dervishes". In Pahlavi, "driyosh" is a general name that denotes the concepts of "poor, destitute, and beggar" (12). According to this version, the word dervish comes from the word "dar-pish", which in Pahlavi means "door threshold". It is clear that the aforementioned designation, implying the meaning of "beggars at the threshold", does not characterize the Sufis (13).

According to another hypothesis, the form "dar-yuz" was derived from the verb "dar-yuziden", which means to seek and beg . However, some Sufis, objecting to the ideas that liken them to beggars , put forward the thesis that the name "dervish" originated from the word "dur-vish", which means "pearl" (14).

The word " *dervish"* has three dictionary meanings: the first is a person who has entered a tariqa and is bound by its rules (*alparan, javanmard)*; the second is a person who has modesty and accepts everything with good humor; and the third meaning is a person who accepts poverty and the torments of deprivation (15).

J.P. Brown, who considered dervishism a mystical way of life, formulated its spiritual and mental aspects in 10 points:

1. Simply put, Allah exists;
2. All things visible and invisible manifested from him;
3. All religions and teachings are in unity;
4. Religions are similar to each other in meaning, but differ in practice;
5. difference between good and bad, everything is a manifestation (*tajalli)* of unity;

6. Man is connected with Allah, and therefore is not free in his actions;
7. The soul is primary in relation to the body, and will exist even after it is separated from it;
8. Man is purified by Allah and lives, submitting only to fate (*qadar)*;
9. Unity means deep consciousness and dissolution in Allah;
10. The creation is the likeness of Allah (16).

These postulates formulated by J.P. Brown cannot be applied to all dervish tariqas. Since there are provisions with which some tariqas do not agree.

The origin of the name *dervish* is due to the influence of Indian mystical beliefs. Thus, there is a strong similarity between the lifestyle of dervishes and Buddhist monks. Begging for alms, going from house to house, knocking on doors, and extending a hand was typical of the lifestyle of Buddhist monks. These monks were called *bhikshus , a name that took the form bakhshi* in Turkish sources . The ancient Turks called priests, shamans, dervishes, and later, ashughs (17) by the word *bakhshi* . This lifestyle was formed by Buddhist monks. Mendicant monks were organized in a monastic system called "Shankha". During the reign of Emperor Ashoka in India (273-236 BC), Buddhism was declared the official religion, and in 250 BC, at a synod convened in Pataliputra, it was decided to send missionaries to other countries.

Around this time, representatives of the Buddhist clergy, outwardly looking like beggars, began to arrive in Afghanistan, Khorasan, and the Kushan Empire in Central Asia (1st – 3rd centuries BC), where the Turks ruled, as well as in Scythian Parthia. Dervishes The 13th century *Qalandariyya* were almost indistinguishable in appearance from these Buddhist monks (18), who did not have families, renounced worldly pleasures, did not eat meat or intoxicating drinks, and walked around in tattered rags through which their bodies were visible. Therefore, we begin to wonder who was meant by the word "dervish" found in the text of the Avesta manuscript in *Pahlavi* .

During the formation of the concept of tasawwuf, we see the emergence of two strong schools. The first of them is the Iraqi school, the most prominent representatives of which were Haris al-Muhasibi, Sari al-Sakati, and Juneyidi-Baghdadi. The ideas in Islam, spread primarily by the Baghdad school, were called *tasawwuf* , and its representatives began to be called *Sufis* . The name dervish is a historical and philosophical concept that appeared in connection with the school of Khorasan Sufis, considered the second strongest school in the history of tasawwuf. The basis of

the Khorasan school was the *Malamatiyya tariqa* . Sufis belonging to this school were called Malamites. The main difference between the Khorasan and Iraqi schools was that while the Iraqi Sufis considered themselves both esotericists (*batyn)* and exotericists (*zahir)*, the representatives of the Khorasan school considered themselves only *batynites* . The Khorasan malamites, who did not isolate themselves from the world and people, presented themselves as ordinary members of society, were categorically against an isolated way of life. That is, the Khorasan school, from this point of view, was considered *secret dervishism* . The most outstanding representative of this school was considered to be Hamdun Kassar. The center of the school was considered to be Nishapur. If we take into account the fact that Nishapur, formerly known as Abarshahr, which was then one of the main centers of the Kushan kingdom, was under the strong influence of Buddhists and Manichaeans, then the recognition of the role of the Indian and Parthian factor in the formation of the concept of *dervish* becomes inevitable.

In Turkic sources, *dervishes* are better known as *abdal* or *baba* . They play a major role in spreading Islam among the Turks. The reason for the perception of ideas about Islam among the Muslim Turks, mostly from Sufi sources at an early stage, is the mentoring activity *of abdals* and *babas* . The most striking example is Aslan Baba and his murid Ahmet Yasawi (19). If we take into account the fact that Aslan Baba was a malamit, then the influence *of malamiyya* on the ideological basis *of yasawiyya* is undeniable.

Malamatiyya – secret dervishness: The malamiyya tasawwuf movement (from the Arabic root *l-v-m)* with its center in Khorasan (20) also had very deep and wide-ranging directions of its influence. The founders and time of the emergence of this movement, traces of which exist in Turkey even today, remain a mystery. The word *malami* , coming from the Arabic root *l-v-m* , means “to see bad, to scold, to reproach, to consider bad”. Malamatiyya, acting , at first, as a way of behavior, relationships, and later, in the form of tariqa, took as its basis the principles “not to shy away from being the object of criticism of people; not to submit to the will of desires and aspirations *of the nafs* ; to keep spiritual states secret” (22). Abu Hafs al-Haddad, considered one of the first representatives of the Malamatiyya movement, explained its essence as follows: “In order to be on par with the True Lord – not to divulge one’s secret, to become an object of reproach, in the name of service and closeness (to the Lord – Ed.), to be condemned by society, on the condition that one points out only the mistakes and misdeeds of the people, without

highlighting their good deeds" (23). This explanation gives reason to express the idea that the Malamites led the life of secret dervishes and hid themselves.

Although, the idea is put forward that the Malamatiyya movement arose as a sign of protest against the Karramiyya tariqa , which was widely active in Khorasan, most likely, Karramiyya only forced this event. In the 9th-10th centuries, the Zakhids in Khorasan were considered a large religious and social stratum. Karramiyya was a movement in tasawwuf that had a strong organizational basis. The greatest feature of this movement was the implementation of the idea and thought of grouping Sufis around centralized *khanagahs* (*tekke)*. The adherents of Karramiyya separated themselves from the people, adhering to the position of "disdainful of profitable work, opponents of the people" (24). Opposing such ideas of Karramiyya, emphasizing the importance of the hidden presence of religious piety and fear of God *(taqwa)* in public life, without denying it, malamiyya gave preference to spiritual life, and the concealment of all one's good deeds by a person. Malamiya dervishes, to some extent leading a way of life distant from the people, preferred not to stand out among others and in clothing (25). The question of who laid the foundations of malamiyya is controversial. Although the great role of the Nishapur *alim* Hamdun Kassar (d . in 884) in the formation of the tariqa, according to the author of an authoritative study on malamiyya, Abdulbaki Gölpınarlı, malamiyya existed long before Hamdun Kassar (26). Gölpınarlı rather puts Abu Hafs Haddad (d . in 883), and highly values the role of such Malamites as Ahmad ibn Hadrawayh (d. 854), Abu Turab Nakhshabi (d. 859), Shah Shuja Kirmani (d. 883), and Abu Osman Kiri (d. 910). Calling Abu Hafs Haddad the greatest sheikh of the Malamites, A. Gölpınarlı puts Bayazid Bistami on par with him, as well as, along with Abu Turab Nakhshabi, who is the sheikh of Hamdun Kassar, and the famous Sufi, "the key to the road of tasawwuf" Ibrahimi-Adhami (Adham ibn Ibrahim) (27).

The history of malamiyya is divided into three periods:

1. Malamiyya-i Kassarriyya (*tarikati-aliyai-kassarriyya)* – founder Hamdun Kassar.
2. Malamiyya-i-bayramiyya (*tariqati-aliyai-bayramiyya)* – founder Dede Omar Sykkini (d . in 1475).
3. Malamiyya-i Nuriyya (*tariqati-aliyai-naqshibandiyya)* – founder Muhammad Nur al-Arabi (d. 1887).

The first period Malamites were active in Khorasan and Azerbaijan, the second period in Anatolia, and the third period Malamites were active in the Balkans. The second period of Malamiya began with the murid Haji Bayram Wali – Dede Omar and continued until the 17th century. The Malamites of this period were subjected to severe persecution and pressure from the Ottoman government because of their contacts with the Safavids. The third period Malamites began their activities under the leadership of Sheikh Muhammad Nur al-Arabi in Bosnia in the 19th century.

It is known that Ahmad ibn Hadrawayh, Abu Turab Nakhshabi, Abu Hafs al-Haddad, Hamdun ibn Ahmad al-Kassar, and Shah Shuja Kirmani, considered to be Malamites of the first period, were masters. In the 10th century, famous Malamites dervishes-sheikhs appeared. Among them, Abu Osman al-Hiri, Yusif ibn Hussein ar-Razi (d . in 916), Abdullah ibn Munazil (d. 940). The presence in this series of Yusif ibn Husayn ar-Razi from Ray indicates the spread of malamiyya in the direction of Azerbaijan beginning in the 10th century. Both ar-Razi and al-Hiri, at the same time, were considered by the Shariah scholars of their time as " *zindiq* ami and *mulhid* ami". This arose from the presence in the concepts of malamiyya of elements that were irreconcilable with the religious foundations and laws of Islam (29).

Although the Malamites led a dervish lifestyle, they preferred to hide among the people. As Ahmad Karamustafa said, "The main claim of the Malamatiyya - living a life of pompous asceticism - arose from a sense of human dignity, and in the end, this would be a reason for complacency. And therefore, the faithful slave, with a sense of fear of being alienated from Allah, must hide his inner world from others. The reason for turning himself into an object of criticism from others, consciously studying public and accepted laws, served the purpose of hiding his true form of religiosity. However, due to the fact that the main concern of the Malamatiyya was to remain unrecognized in the outside world, then in studying the laws it was extremely cautious. For this reason, the Malamites rejected a special form of clothing, costume, ritual and ceremonial. Such Malamites, trying to be ideological mentors, disapproved of Sufis who led a nomadic life and lived on alms (*sadaqah)*" (30).

Malamiyya, which appeared in Khorasan, quickly spread throughout the Islamic world. In particular, in Azerbaijan and Anatolia there lived many Malamites, who were ideological and spiritual mentors, but led a Sufi lifestyle. Between the 9th and 11th centuries, malamiyya, which

was widespread from Khorasan to Azerbaijan, especially among artisans (*asnaf)* and merchants (*tujar),* did not take the form of a tariqa. Therefore, the first period in the history of malamiyya is considered to be *mashrab* . However, malamiyya, which had a profound impact on Sufi movements, gave impetus to the emergence of, in particular, two such strong tariqas of the medieval Islamic East as *qalandariyya* and *kubrawiyya* (31).

Malami-Safavid relations. There is evidence to support the existence of strong ties between the Malamites and the Safavid sheikhs of the first period. Unfortunately, historians have not yet paid due attention to the Safavid-Malami ties.

There are three main facts that confirm the Safavid-Malami ties. The first fact is based on the family ties that connect Ibrahim ibn Adham and the Safavids. It should be noted that historians completely groundlessly, and without a single fact, deny the relationship of the Safavids with Ibrahim ibn Adham. The first source that provides information about the origin of the Safavids is the work of Tawakkul ibn Ismail ibn Bazzaz " *Safwat-us-Safa* ". There are two copies of this work. The first of them is the original, and the second is a "fake" copy. The original was written in 1337 by the hand of Tawakkul ibn Bazzaz himself. The “fake” copy is a version with a false genealogy placed in the book, supposedly confirming the family ties of the Safavids with the seventh imam Musa al-Kazim, created in 1547, during the translation of the book into Turkish (32).

The first representative of the Safavid dynasty is Firuz. In Safwat-us-Safa he is referred to as "Zarrin-Kulah Firuz" (or, Golden-crowned Firuz) (33). The name "Zarrin-Kulah" in Turkic means "golden headdress" (golden crown, golden helmet, golden casque). Although the reason why Firuz received this name is unknown, it is clear why he became the first representative of the Safavids to bear the title of "qizilbash". Safavid sources of subsequent periods claim that Firuz was descended from the family of the seventh imam Musa al-Kazim. Namik Musali, who examined the information presented on this issue, assessed the legends about the connection of the Safavids with the Sayyids as "a widespread use of this factor after the Safavids came to power, in order to justify the legitimacy of their own rule" (34).

There are two types of information about Firuz's origin. In some sources he is presented as one of the "descendants of Ibrahim ibn Adham", while in others he is presented as "a supporter of

Sultan Ahmed, who is one of the grandsons of Ibrahim ibn Adham". Some sources say that before Firuz appeared in Azerbaijan, he was "the guardian of the tomb of Imam Rza in Mashhad" (35).

In the copy of Safwat-us-Safa in the Turkic language this fact is noted as follows: “And, as it was said in the copy of the mention of the tribal nisba of Sayyid Firuzshah, “In those days, one padishah came from the grandsons of Sultan Ibrahim Adham, the Sanjar branch, and led an army to Azerbaijan, and subjugated those inhabited places, and the inhabitants of Aran and Alivan, as well as Darbum were kafirs” (36). Since, in one of the copies of the book in the Sulaymaniyah library, the name “Sultan Ahmet” was used instead of the name “Ibrahim ibn Adham”, some researchers mistakenly considered Sultan Ahmet to be another person (37).

Thus, it turns out that Firuz came from the family of Ibrahim ibn Adham. This information is confirmed by such sources as " *Habibus-siyyar* " by Khandamir, " *Alamara-yi Abbasi* " by Iskender Bek Munshi, and " *Silsilatun-nasabi-safaviyya* " (38).

The second fact confirming the Safavid-Malamiyah connections is the presence in the chain of succession of Somuncu Baba Hamidadin, the founder of the second, or Anatolian period of the tariqa, of three Safavid sheikhs. These are Sheikh Sefiaddin, Sheikh Sadraddin, and Hajj Ali. Somuncu Baba was a murid and disciple of Hajj Ali, having accepted his service in Ardabil and Khoy. One of the greatest Sufis of the third period, called "Oglan Sheikh" (Sheikh Boy) Ibrahim Efendi, who is the "spiritual succession" (" *silsila-yi manavi")*, begins the chain of succession of the malamiyya, which he named, with Sheikh Sefiaddin Ardabil (39).

The third fact confirming the Safavid-Malamiya connections is the demonstration by the Safavid dervishes of the first period of some features inherent to malamiyya. For example, the ruler of the Elkhanid period, Emir Choban Sulduz once asked Sheikh Safi: "Do we have more warriors, or do you have more murids?" The Sheikh responded to the emir's words as follows: "One of our murids is equal to ten of your warriors. Simply put, in Ajam for every warrior of yours there are 100 of our murids " (40). This indicates the existence of the concept of concealment among the Safavids, similar to the Malamites.

In addition, it is known about the existence of strong Malamis centers in Azerbaijan - in Tabriz, Hamadan, Khoy. This becomes clear from the nisbas of Malamis Sufis related to the aforementioned cities. The tradition of Safavid sheikhs to hide themselves also attracts attention.

A clear proof of this is the fact that Sheikh Safi, Sheikh Sadraddin, and Sheikh Ali presented themselves as adherents of the Sunni-Shafi'i tradition (41).

Another fact demonstrating the existence of Safavid-Malamiyya connections is the similarity between Safavid and Malamiyya dervishes. As in the practice of Malamiyya, in Safavid dervishism, " begging , stretching out one's hand for alms, asking for anything from others" was also not welcomed. Safavid dervishes had to provide for their own needs. Therefore, in Safavidism, as in Malamiyya, there was a condition for a murid to engage in spiritual mentoring (43). We believe that the concept of "qazi-sufi" in Safavid dervishism is also based on Malamiyya influence.

The strongest connection between malamiyya and safaviyya is the presence of Shiite tendencies. However, as A. Gölpınarlı also notes, the Shiite sect of malamiyya dervishes was at the level of "mufaddila" [*]and was not considered Shiism (43). The most characteristic feature between Shiism and malamiyya is the ascent of the chain of succession of the malamiyya tariqa to Imam Ali. In malamiyya ideas, "qutb (pole) and wasi (succession) after the prophet refer to Ali" (44).

Oglan Sheikh . The most famous of the Malamiya-Bayrami Sufis was, of course, Oglan Sheikh Ibrahim Efendi. At the age of 23, he expressed his ideas about Malamiya in his mesnevi in the Anatolian dialect as follows:

Nədür ərkan-i Bayrami məğər,

Şeyxi olan hər kimə eyləsə nəzər.

Şövqü-həqq ilə gözü bina olaCəzbəi-həqq ilə müstəsna olan...

Böyledür Bayraminin ayinləri

Bu durur bil zahir ü batınları . (45)

What is the Arkan-i Bayrami (pillar of Bayramiyya),

If the one who has a Sheikh looks at anyone ,

His eyes will be filled with Truth-joy (Shovgu-Hakk),

The Exclusive Truth-Admiration (Jazbai-Haqq)…

[*] Mufaddila - this is what they called those who believed that Hazrat Ali was the most worthy and perfect person of all the companions. Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), who should be the Imam (Caliph) of the Muslim Ummah after him. They did not have any views that were contrary to Islamic doctrine, and over time, they joined the ranks of the Sunnis. Note: M.L.

the rituals of bayramiy and

This is what is obvious and hidden (zahiru batyn) (45) .

Before Ibrahim Effendi, who became famous under the nickname “Oglanlar Sheikhs”, “Oglan Sheikh”, “Olanlar Sheikhs”, “Olan Sheikh”, this pseudonym was used by the Malamian Sufi Ismail Mashuki (d. 1528/29), who was accused of inclination towards the Safavids, and executed (46).

Sunullah Gheibi in his work “Sohbetname”, in the words of Ibrahim Efendi, explains the reason why the latter was called “Oglan Sheikh”: “When we were six or eight years old, our grandfather made us memorize lines from the theology of Hazrat Piri Maktabdar. Once, when we were memorizing the line “I gave my essence to that Truth, it did not remain mine, khan”, I asked “my grandfather, is this the one who was the deity of the Pir?” When in response to my grandfather’s words “yes, grandson”, I said “I wonder if they had an essence to give”, my grandfather said the following words “this boy is a sheikh”. This is the reason for the nickname “Oglan Sheikh” (Sheikh Boy)” (47).

It is noted that Ibrahim Efendi was born in 1591/92 (48). It is reported that he was born into the family of a very wealthy merchant. It is also said that from an early age Ibrahim Efendi was a murid of Sheikh Osman Hakikizade, who was leading a mentoring activity in Eyrikapı, that due to his young age the sheikh did not want to accept him as a murid, but due to Ibrahim's persistence he was accepted into the tariqa. It is known that Hakikizade Osman Efendi, who was Ibrahim's murshid, was the caliph of Seyid Seyfaddin, the son of Seyid Nizameddin (d . in 1601) (49).

In the genealogical tree of Ibrahim in the tariqa, in the 33rd link of the chain of succession associated with the Prophet Muhammad, in 17th place is Sheikh Shihabaddin Tabrizi (d . in 1302), in 18th place is Sheikh Zahid Gilani (d. in 1305), and in 24th place is Seyyid Yahya Shirvani (d. in 1463). In the chain of succession of Oglan Sheikh, the presence of the sheikhs *Ahi* - Ahi Muhammad (d . 1397), Ahi Miram (d. 1409) (50). However, Ibrahim Efendi, having declared the ascent of the beginning of his chain of spiritual succession to the Safavid sheikh Sefiaddin, and continued by Sadraddin, Hajj Ali, Hamidaddin, Haji Bayram V eli, being a Malamite, noted his attachment to the Safawiyya (51). Due to the fact that the Safavid influence turned the Anatolian Malamiya into one of the most persecuted tariqats by the Ottomans, Ibrahim Efendi was forced to remain associated with two sheikhs who differed from each other in both political and spiritual

aspects. Politically, he was attached to Sheikh Aziz Mahmud Hudayi (d . in 1628), and in the spiritual sense – to Sheikh Abdulahad Nuri (d. 1651).

Oglan Sheikh Ibrahim Efendi died in 1655. He was one of the most famous dervishes of the malamiyya of the second period. Oglan Sheikh, who associated himself with malamiyya, was a "sajadanishin " o m in the Gavsi Khanegah of Sheikh Hakikizade, who was associated with the Khalwatiyya tariqah. The most striking feature of the Sheikh was maintaining the connection with the Safavid affiliation. In one place, in his work there is even an appeal to Sheikh Safi:

From the spiritual testimony (shuhud-i manevi), to Sheikh Safi

They asked a question to the pure in heart (52).

The works of Ibrahim Efendi deeply influence the concept of "wahdat-i wujud" of Ibn Arabi. First of all, in the works " *Divan* ", " *Mufid u Mukhtasar* ", " *Tasawwufname* ", " *Usulul-Muhakkikin* " were given interpretations of such problems in tasawwuf as unity (wahdat), truth (haqiqat), man, heart (qalb), prophetic succession (wilayati-nubuwwat), closeness (kurb-bud), contraction and expansion (kabz-bast), death-error (mahw-sahf), disappearance and dissolution (fana-baka), literary conversation (adabi sohbet). It is noteworthy that by studying both the theoretical and practical issues of tasawwuf, he mastered the ascetic way of life in its entirety, remaining faithful to the concepts of malamiyya. His deep involvement in the essence of the concept of "wahdati-wujud" was the reason why he was nicknamed "Muhyiddin-Sani" (the Second Muhyiddin Arabi).

Basics of Malamiyah. Malamiyya is the best example of hidden dervishness. Without making public, protesting against the rules, norms of behavior, and ethics of Sufism, malamiyya found a place among the "secret tariqas". Protesting against dervishes, begging , wearing aba, and other Sufi norms of behavior and ethics, the Malamites “hiding the good and exposing the unseemly”, due to these qualities, were not listed among the Mutasawwufs.

The Malamites did not have *tekke* and *zawiya* , did not wear headbands and headdresses. According to them, such things indicated the idea of the superiority of some people over others, which was not the right behavior. Therefore, the Malamites preferred the will of chance, instead of moving away from what could shame or humiliate them in the eyes of society, they preferred to treat such things more loyally. Praise is unseemly, in fact, to be blamed and scolded is more approving, since this breaks the self-loving person, and frees him from the heavy shackles of

pride. Throughout history, it was noted that the Malamites were far from prayer, but in speeches they constantly practiced dhikr and prayer, since according to their ideas, the Lord is everywhere, and sees everything, and accepts their worship. The Malamites' periodic cold attitude towards the Mutasawwuf was explained by their differences in thought and views. The Malamites also disliked the Mutasawwuf because the solemn and pompous ceremonies and rituals of the Tariqahs held in the Tekke were carried out at a higher material level than the local population could afford, which alienated them from society. In fact, one of the factors underlying the emergence of the Malamiya was the principle of nationality. However, this does not mean that they did not accept Tasawwuf. Tasawwuf in their eyes was genuine Islam, it represented Islam itself, since, according to their teaching, it was impossible to learn the basic criteria of religion without mastering the secrets of Tasawwuf.

It was important to perform the rituals of worship, but it was necessary to delve into the essence of the rituals performed, to perform dhikrs with the heart, since dhikrs performed from a pure heart are the keys that open the doors to the path that ascends from the heart of the believer directly to the Lord. In the unity and existence of the Lord, he will plunge into deep awareness, and thus believe that he is on the path leading to perfection. The Koran, considered for centuries by the Malamites to be the source of hidden divine knowledge (*ilmi ladunni)*, narrates about the existence and unity of the Lord, and he who has mastered this knowledge is considered to have joined the perfection in the Malamit understanding.

It is worth noting the modesty that stems from the inner essence of malamiyya and other behavioral tendencies in its relations with other religions. Malamiyya was far from being on categorical or harsh positions in relation to other religions, from the tendency to stigmatize or accuse them of heresy (*kufr)*. The Malamites considered it important to delve deeply into the essence of the verses of the Quran, their approach included a special method of tavil and tafsir of each clear (*muhkamat)* and allegorical (*mutashabihat)* verse. To put it briefly, the Islamic mutasawwufs characterized the Malamites as people who follow the path of perfection and do not shy away from any difficulties that could prevent them from mastering deep religious knowledge on this path.

The Malamites, who attach great importance to the hidden divine knowledge (*ilmi ladunni)*, in fact considered it to be the key to the treasury of the secret of the creation of mankind.

Throughout history, the question of Allah's purpose in the creation of mankind has prompted all philosophers, sages, and intellectuals to ponder. The Malamites claimed that the easiest path to this knowledge is through science and enlightenment. All doors must be open to the one who wants to master knowledge. He must be helped in everything, and politely introduced to knowledge. Because the path he has begun will be completed in *tawhid.* knowledge, in *ilmi ladunni* , and then, he will be dissolved in the being of the Lord - the stage of *fana fillah* . This is the sacred goal and path.

According to them, the murshid only shows the door, all other responsibility falls on the student (murid). The Malamites defended the closeness of Allah to every person, and the impermissibility of anyone, including the murshid, interfering in the connection between Allah and man.

No matter how knowledgeable and virtuous a murshid may be, he is also a servant like other people, and it is necessary to mention him in the qualities inherent to servants, without any interest of the murshid that lies outside his lessons and science, conversations and recommendations. They defended the need to attribute such aspirations as Righteousness, Intercession, Solidarity, Repentance, only to Allah. The teachers of this knowledge also did not show any material interest in relation to the students. As a result of these lessons, assimilated as *ilmi tawhid* (the science of tawhid), the goal was to reach the levels of "fanafilah" (disappearance in Allah), and "baqabillah" (abiding in Allah).

The Malamites opposed the exploitation of any religious feelings. They reminded those who demanded material support or monetary aid that the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) never asked for anything in his reward when performing his duties. They rebuked such people or groups by reading them verse 21(20) from sura 36 of *Ya Sin* of the Quran: “ Follow those who do not ask you for a reward and who are on the straight path!”

According to the Malamites, Adam was the first man to seek the truth, before him there were many transient generations of people. Each Malamite, by nature, must strive to comprehend the essence of being. The desire to comprehend begins with the person himself. The person must first ask himself who he is, what his essence is, and try to understand himself with the help of such questions. The person who has reached the truths realizes the created nature of all that exists, the existence of which is supported.

The scholars of tasawwuf, who consider malamiyya not a tariqa, but *a "mashrab* " o m (behavioural method), put forward contradictory opinions about this movement. The author of "Kashf-ul-mahjub" (53) in the sixth chapter of his work presented extensive information about the basics of malamiyya. According to Hujwiri, there are three forms of malamiyya. These forms are "to leave the straight path", "to encroach", and "to leave". The first of them are normal malamiyya. That is, their malamiyya consisted of "leaving the straight path, to do their own affairs, without violating religious prescriptions and the norms of the Sharia". The second group of malamites, who were called "those who encroached", consisted of those who "saw that the people had a good opinion of them, and, fearing the harm that could be caused by such respect, tried in every possible way to demonstrate a violation of the norms and rules of the Sharia in order to reduce the positive perception of themselves among the people." The third group of malamites were representatives of the extreme malamatiyyi . They "openly expressed their affiliation with malamiyya, declaring that they had left the framework of observing the norms of the Sharia." Hujwiri concentrated the main criticism in his work around this third group. For this reason, Hujwiri does not call them Sufis, mutasawwufs, dervishes. Therefore, the malamites have not yet "achieved the secret of unity, and are engaged in the people" (54). Abdurrahman Jami also has a negative opinion of them. In his work "Nahafat-ul-Uns" the Malamites are criticized in a harsh manner: "As for the Malamiya, this is a people (*jama'at)* who have gone too far in terms of their attempt to observe sincerity and the laws of sincerity. They consider it important to exaggerate in the eyes of the people *ta'ati ikhfa* and *khayri katim* (following the practice of secrecy and concealment). No matter how desirable and glorious this tribe may be considered among the people, for now, it seems important to them to appear hidden in the eyes of the people. Therefore, they found themselves embarrassed in the face of the contemplation of unity and the eye of identifying error. Thus, the person who strives to hide his deeds and his state from the people is a murshid who notices the existence of the people and his own nature (*nafs),* and this state is an obstacle to realizing the true meaning of tawhid. Nafs is the same as the alien, the other (*agyaar).* For now, they remain unaware of their situation. They have not yet managed to separate the alien (*agyaar)* from their actions and states. The main difference between the Malamites and the Sufis lies in this: *Jazbani-inayati-qadim* *has completely captured the Sufis, and the layer of personality and the people, and the concept of testimony has been eliminated in their ideas. In the flow of

worship and good, they do not see themselves, or the people, and, having become confident in disappearing from the people's sight, they are no longer concerned with concealing their actions and states. If time advises the need to break the concealment, then they will conceal their concealment (*ikhfas)*, and their belonging to the one (*mukhtas)*. In this case, the malamatiyya are the sincere (*mukhlis)* in *qasri lam* , and the Sufis are the sincere (*mukhlis)* in *fathi lam* " (55).

In contrast to this, Sheikh Akbar Muhyiddin I ibn Arabi, Sayyid Sharifi Jurjani, the Khalwati Sheikhs Uskudarli Hashim Baba and Ashrafi Rumi called malamatiyya the highest level of tasawwuf. According to I ibn Arabi, "malamatiyya is the highest level *of walāyah* , above which there is nothing except the level *of nubuwwah* , and this *maqam* in *walāyah* is *maqam-qurbat* " (56).

According to Hamdun Kassar, who did not hide his belonging to the Malamiya, "Malamiya means - moving away from all comfort inherent to people, not to affirm a single quality or attribute." Therefore, a person who considers himself a Malamite, having distanced himself from all pleasure, must remain in a state of prolonged heartfelt *(qalb)* attachment to Allah. At the same time, the Malamite should not experience pleasure from this state either. Since the pleasure received from his worship can dull his vigilance. Pleasure can be obtained only by remaining in unity.

For this reason, the rules and regulations of malamiyya of the first period, the norms of ethics and behavior, the categories of murid and murshid were absent. However, after some malamites came out of concealment, certain rules and regulations of malamiyya began to form. Abu Abdurrahman reports 45 conditions of malamiyya. The most basic of them are the following provisions:

to be shirk by external (zahir) worship , and attachment by internal (*batin) state." Second: A malamit "does not show respect to any external or internal (zahir, batin)* discoveries (*kashf),* or miracles (*karamat)*, except for the truth." Third condition: " *zikr* in words (tongue) will not give anything. If the heart (*kalb)* provides for zikr, then only then can one begin to perform zikr with words. Whereas, true zikr is zikr of the heart, spirit, secret." Fourth condition: "A malamit is not

[*] " Jazbani-inayati-qadim " - literally : " the attraction of ancient grace". In tasawwuf it is believed that Allah suddenly illuminates the soul of his beloved slave with the light of truth, without any initiative or effort on the part of the latter, thereby elevating his spiritual status and bringing him closer to himself. In the early sources of tasawwuf this state is called *wajd* , and interpreted together with the concepts *of dhikr* and *sama* . Note: M.L.

satisfied with zikr." Fifth: A malamit "stays away from public forms of zikr (performing namaz together with *jamaat).*" Sixth: A malamatite constantly tries to do good to people, but if he begins to get pleasure from this, then he must fight this manifestation. Seventh: A malamatite is concerned only with his *nafs* . Eighth: For the faithful brothers (*ikhwan),* he should become a candle at night and a staff during the day (Hamdun Kassar). Ninth: For malamatiyya, there are two basic conditions of humility - glorifying Allah, and following the path of the Prophet (*taqlid).* Tenth: A malamatite, for the purpose of his concealment (*ikhfa),* constantly leading an open (zahir) and definite (muin) way of life in sight, can never ask others for help, and should never voice his needs. Because asking for help from a slave means asking for help from someone who is in need himself. Perhaps such a person himself is in greater need of help (57).

On the philosophical aspect of malamiyya.

Researchers of malamatiyya and malamiyya put forward the idea that it is not a tariqa, but was formed like Protestantism in Christianity. Malamiya in its modern form is a philosophical concept and position that has defended some religious ways of thinking that exist in the world for centuries. Despite its original religious worldview, unlike other movements, malamiyya does not have its own religious rites and forms of worship that are inherent only to it.

In the Malamiya view, taswuf is considered and recognized as the inner essence (*batin)* of Islam and its essence. The external (*zahir),* commands and prescriptions of religion, are mostly observed properly. The Malamites, whose main goal is to become a perfect person (*insani kamil),* perform *dhikr* for the remembrance of Allah, indulge in a deep awareness of His existence and unity, and thus believe that they are on the path to perfection? The Quranic concept of *ilmi ladunni* (secret knowledge), which has existed for centuries, according to the Malamites, is knowledge only of the existence of God and His unity, and the Malamite who has comprehended this knowledge is considered to have joined perfection. The Malamites believe that it is important to delve into the depth of the content of the verses, and they reveal the meaning of the clear (*muhkamat)* and allegorical (*mutashabihat)* verses through a special method of interpretation and exposition (*tawil* and *tafsir).*

The Malamites, who highly value the concept of hidden knowledge (*ilmi ladunni),* in fact consider it to be the key that opens the treasury of the secret of the creation of mankind. Throughout history, the question of Allah's purpose in creating mankind has prompted all

philosophers, sages, and intellectuals to ponder. The Malamites claimed that the easiest path to this knowledge is through science and enlightenment. All doors must be open to the one who wants to acquire knowledge. He must be helped in everything, and politely introduced to knowledge. Because the path he has begun will end in *the tawhid of* knowledge, in *ilmi ladunni* , and then, dissolution in the being of the Lord awaits him - the stage of *fana fillah* . This goal and path are sacred.

All spiritual bonds in malamiyya (dhikr and contemplation) lead directly to Allah, despite the fact that in many tariqas the path to perfection, in stages, passes through the acquisition of the spiritual statuses of Sheikh, Pir, Mujaddid, Prophet. For the Malamites, the Sheikh is not only a spiritual guide, or teacher. The task of the Sheikh is to correctly convey information to a person worthy of it, and the task of the student is to try to be closer to Allah in the light of this information.

Zikr for the Malamites is a command of the Koran that must always and everywhere be put into practice. In the tariqas, zikr is performed in certain places, and even in a certain form of clothing. The Malamites gather together only to remember Allah, and with the goal of getting to know His existence more closely.

Malamit tries, as was stated above, to comprehend the essence of being. The attempt to comprehend begins with the person himself, with self-comprehension. He tries to comprehend himself, asking such questions as: who am I? what am I? what am I? am I, this me? The person who has reached these truths will also comprehend the essence of the Creator of all being.

The rules of behavior and way of life of a malamite are as follows: firstly, one must not give in to negative thoughts. One must constantly cleanse oneself from dirt and impurity. One must constantly keep oneself clean. One must always act as if in the face of the truth. Lying is impermissible. Eating food that is prohibited by Islam (*haram)* is prohibited. Fabrications, envy, a tendency to intrigue, slander, pride, assertiveness, and other similar unseemly traits and character states must be eliminated. One must not speak ill of anyone. There should be no hidden resentment or hostility in the heart. A person must be busy with his service. One must not interfere with the faith and worship of another person. One must not be disparaging of the beliefs of others.

Thus, it can be said that the Mutasawwuf in Islam characterize the Malamites as followers of the path of perfection, and acknowledge that they are not afraid of any difficulties and obstacles on the path of achieving deep religious knowledge.

Conclusion

Although malamiyya appeared at the end of the 2nd century AH, in the form of secret dervishism, with signs of Protestantism directed against the Sufi way of life, it began to spread in the 3rd century (10th century). Malamatiyya, whose main center was in Khorasan, quickly won a large number of followers. The main reason for this was the transition of the regions where the main functioning centers of the malamites were concentrated, into the hands of Muslim Turkic rulers, and their favorable attitude to the currents of tasawwuf. Thus, in the territories where malamiyya quickly spread, in Khorasan the Simjurids (58) were in power, in Afghanistan - the Ghaznavids (59), in Maverannahr - the Mukhtajids (60), and in Azerbaijan - the Sajids (61).

All these states were ruled by the Turks, and during this period the Islamic tasawwuf currents were widespread among the Turks. This is the main reason for the large number of followers of malamiyya among the Turks. In addition, there were many dervishes of Turkic origin among the representatives of malamiyya. Among those whose Turkic roots have been established quite definitely are Ali Abo, Muhammad Mashugi Tusi, Suleiman Turkmani, Ahmed Yasawi and his teacher Aslan Baba, Shams Tabrizi (62), Movlana Jalaluddin Rumi, and others. The reason for the rapid spread of malamiyya in Azerbaijan, and in Anatolia, at subsequent stages, is that these regions were under the control of the Turks. Yasawiyya, considered one of the largest tariqats among the Turks, has close ties with malamiyya. There is strong evidence that the murshid of the founder of the Yasaviyya (63) Ahmed Yasavi (d . in 1166/67) – Aslan Baba was a follower of malamiyya (64). In addition, the creation of links between Islam and the ancient Turkic belief of Aslan Baba (kamlanie) is the main factor in the rapid spread of the concept of heterodox Islam (65) among the Turks. It is also noteworthy that Aslan Baba, under the guise of a merchant (66), hid his belonging to malamiyya.

Malamiyya has had a strong influence on the literature of Islamic geography . Since this problem has not been studied yet, it is very difficult to determine its essence. For example, in the works of Nizami, “often turning to intoxicating drinks, desiring wine” in one place of the “Sharafnameh” it is said the following: “I swear by Allah that in my life I have not brought even

the edges of my lips close to wine. If my lips were stained with wine, may Allah *halal it be haram* om for me" (67) . This feature (to talk about wine, and to consider it *haram* om in one's life) is very close and indicative of the malami mashrab.

References:

1. A. Gölpınarlı, *Məlamilik ve Məlamilər* , İstanbul 1992 (2-ci nşr.), s. 4 və d.
2. The word *zanadiqa* , derived from "zindiq" in Arabic, first appears in Islamic sources from the late Umayyad period. Since the word is not of Arabic origin, the question of which language Arabic borrowed it from remains controversial. In Arabic sources, the word "zindiq" generally referred to believers in the Zend Avesta. However, according to historians such as al-Saalibi (d . In the Sassanid period, Zindık was the name given to those who held a dualistic system of belief (thanawiyya) and who spread the teachings of Zarathustra and Mani. Massignon L., *Zındık* , Eİ; Goldziher İ., " *Salih ibn Abd al-Kuddus und das Zindikthum wahrend der regiering des Chalifen al-Mahdi* ", Transactions of the IX-th International Congress of Orientalists, Londra 1893, II, s, 104-129; Bahcıvan S., *Abbaslerin İlk Döneminde Zındıklık Hareketi* , Selçuk Üniversitesi Temel İslam Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı İslam Mezhepleri Tarihi Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Konya 2011, s. 8-20).
3. The term *mulhid*, derived from the masdar "ilhad", has been found in theological sources since the 9th century. According to some historians, the word "ilhad" was first used by I ibn ar-Ravandi (9th-10th centuries) . Thus, some scholars who were Muslims, but at the same time, experienced the influence of other religions in their souls, starting from the 9th century in matters concerning theology, they launched a debate about the divinity (*ulukhiyat)* of Allah. At the head of these scholars was ar-Ravandi. Some sources considered him the first *mulhid* (one who left religion). There is information in the sources that I ibn ar-Ravandi put forward the idea that "the Koran is not a revelation, but only a book written by Muhammad." Islamic scholars called such people as they were designated in the Koran - "ilhad", that is, "those who deviated from the straight path and took the wrong path." (Kutluer İ., " *İslam hersiografi tarihinden: İbnü`r-Ravendi`nin bir mülhid ve dehri olarak portresi* ", Bilgi ve Hikmet Dergisi, sayı 9, Kış 1995, s. 130-153).
4. Knysh A., *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* , Leiden 1999, s. 6.
5. Məhəmməd ət-Təbəri, *Tarix əl-Uməm vəl-müluk* , Məhəmməd Əbül-Fəzl İbrahim nəşri, Beyrut, Darüs-Süveydan 1967, p. VI, s. 559, cv, s. 51.
6. S.Kutlu, *Türklerin İslamlaşma Sürecinde Mürcie ve Tesirleri* , Ankara, Diyanet Vakfi 2000, s. 173-287).
7. According to Denise Lardner Carmody , the first factor in the emergence of tasawwuf as a way of life was the change in the high standards of well-being of Muslims, caused by their conquests. This factor created the conditions for the emergence of the problem of the personal self,

and as a result increased the tendency towards asceticism. Carmody DL, Carmody JT, *Mysticism: Holiness East and West* , New York 1996 , pp. 250-251.

8. For more information on the national and religious composition of the population of Khorasan in the early period of Islam, see: Şeker F. M., *İslamlaşma Sürecinde Türklerin İslam Tasavvuru* , Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Doktora Tezi, İstanbul 2008, pp. 9-223.

9. The belief that the divine spirit, incarnate in a person, can resurrect him again after death (hulul). Similar to the spirit of Jesus Christ, or the Mahdi. See El-Leyai, p. 113.

10. The belief that after death the soul of a person can pass to another person or animal. This belief, of Indian origin, has had a strong influence on the religious systems of Mazdakism, Brahmanism, and the Saabians. See : De Vaux (B.Carra), *Tenasuh* , Islam Ansiklopedisi, c. XII, pp. 158-159.

11. It was the official language at the court of the Samanids (819-999), called "Dari", meaning "palace". Modern philologists call it Persian, or Middle Persian.

12. Uludağ, *Tasavvuf Terimleri Sözlüğü* , İstanbul, Kabalcı 2001, s. 103.

13. Yazıçı T., *Derviş* , Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi, İstanbul 1994, p. IX, s. 188.

14. Some people, p. 189.

15. *Türkçe Sözlük* , Ankara, DTK 1998, p. I, s. 567.

16. J. P. Browne., *The darvishes or. Oriental spiritualism* , Edited with introduction and notes by HARose, London, Oxford University Presss 1927, s. 10-11.

17. This word entered the Azerbaijani language as “bahydzhi”, “falchi”.

18. A.Küçük, G.Tümer, *Dinler Tarihi* , Ankara, Berikan 2009, 229-232

19. Köprülü MF, *Baba* , İslam Ansiklopedisi, c. II, s. 165-166.

20. Erken A., *A Historical Analysis of Məlami-Bayrami Hagiographies* , Bağaziçi University, İstanbul 2009, s. 14.

21. It is noted that Movlana Jalaluddin Rumi accepted and shared the Malamiyya views and was associated with Malamiyya. See: Altıntaş H., *Tasavvuf Tarihi* , Ankara, Ankara Üniversiteti İlahiyat Fakultesi 1986, p. 112.

22. Algar H., de Jong F., İmber C., *Malamatiyyah* , EI (The Encyclopaedia of İslam), p. VI, s. 223-228.

23. Doğrul O.R., *Islam Tarihinde İlk Melamet* , İstanbul, İnkılap 1950, s. 101.

24. Bosworth C.Ed., *Karramiyya* , E.I., p. IV, s. 667-669.

25. Karamustafa A., *Sufism: The Formative Period* , California, University of California Berkley Press 2007, s. 48; Erken, *Məlami-Bayrami* , s. 14-15.

26. Gölpınarlı A., *Məlamilik ve Məlamilər* , İstanbul 1931, s. 5.

27. *I'm sorry* , p. 6.

28. Ocak, *Calendar* , p. 13.

29. *Kuşeyri Risalesi* , s. 102-103, 140, 199; Ənsari-Hərəvi, *Tabaqati-sufiyyə* , Əbdülhay Həbibi nəşri, Kabul 1962, s. 82-85; Ocak, *Kalenderiler* , s. 13.

30. Kara Mustafa AT, *Tanrının Kuraltanımaz Kulları, İslam Dünyasında Derviş Toplulukları (1200-1550)* , çeviren R.Sezer, İstanbul, YKY 2011, s. 47.

31. Ocak, *Calendar* , p. 13.

32. This issue has been studied in detail by Mirza Abbasli. See : Abbasl ı M., " *Safevilerin Kökenine Dair* ", TTK Belleten, 1976, p. XL, pp. 158-329.

33. Təvəkkül b. İsmaıl b. Hac əl-Ərdəbili (İbn Bəzzaz), *əl-Məvahibüs-səniyyə fi`l-mənakibis-Səfəviyyə* , Sülaymaniyə Kitabxanası Ayasofya Bölümü, (h.896/m.1490 yılı yazması) No: K2123, vr. 7a.

34. Musalı N., *I Şah İsmayılın hakimiyyəti ("Tarix-i aləmara-yi Şah İsmayıl" əsəri əsasında)* , Baki 2011, s. 87.

35. Ibn Bazzaz directly connects Firuz with Ibrahim Adham (*Manakibis-safaviyya* , p. 7a). Iskender Bek Munshi, taking this as a basis, notes that Firuz was sent to Ardabil by the emir (Ibrahim ibn Adham) (*Tarihe-alemaraye-Abbasi,* ed. Farzaliev, p . 24). In the translation of this work by O. Efendiyev and N. Musaly, Firuzshah was indicated as "one of the sons of Zarrinkulakh Ibrahim Adham". However, the translators, without providing compelling arguments, consider this unfounded. See: İ sk ə nd ə r B ə y M ü n ş i , *Tarihe-alemaraye-Abbasi (Abas ı n d ü n ı b ə z ə y ə n tarixi)* , Farscadan t ə rc ü m ə nin , ö n s on z on n , s on rhl ə rin v ə g ö st ə rcil ə rin m üə lifl ə ri O. Ə f ə nd ə yev – N . Musalı , Bakı 2009, s . 44-45, qeyd 111); Şü k ü rov G. , *Safevi Devleti`nin Kurulu ş u ve I . Ş ah İ smail Devri (907-930/1501-1524)* , T . C. Marmara Ü niversitesi Sosyal Bilimler I want to tell you something anabilities Let 's go to hell Lisan tezi , İ stanbul 2006, s . 18.

36. *Ş eyx S ə fi t ə zkir ə si , " S ə fv ə t ü s - s ə fa " n ı n XVI century t ü rk t ə rc ü m ə si* , T ə rtib ç il ə r v ə n əş r ə haz ı rlayanlar M. Na ğı soylu – S . Cabbarl ı – R. Ş eyxzamanl ı, Bak ı 2006, s . 47.

37. G. Şükürov "Sultan Əhmədi İbrahim Ədhəmin nəvəsi, Firuzu da onun yaxın adamı" hesab edib (*Safevi Devleti* , s. 18). Əslində bu nüsxədəki "Sultan Ədhəm" yerinə "Sultan Əhməd" yazılmasından irəli gələn səhvdir.

38. Abbaslı, *Safevilerin Kökenine Dair* , qeyd 137.

39. Gökbulut S., *Olanlar Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi`nin Vahdetname/Usul-iMuhakkikin`i Işığında Tasavvufi Görüşleri (İnceleme ve Metin)* , Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yüksek Lisans Tezi, İzmir 2003, s. 21.

40. Şeyx Hüseyn Pirizadə Zahidi, *Silsilətün-nəsəbi-Səfəviyyə* , Berlin, İntişarat-I İranşehr 1343 hş., s. 19; Münəccimbaşı Dede Efendi, *Sahaifül-Ahbar* , İstanbul, Matbaa-I Amirə 1868, c. III,s. 180; Şeref Han, *Şerefname: Osmanlı-İran Tarihi* , Çev. MEBozarslan, İstanbul, Ant 1971, s. 135.

41. Shaykh Safi's views had their "Khalwati" aspects, which came from Shaykh Zahid Gilani. For example: J . S . Trimingham (*The Sufi Orders in slam* , Oxford , The Clarendon Press 1971, pp . 99-100) The closeness through badriyya, Sheikh Zahid to the traditions of the tariqa, which later became known as khalwatiyya, is noted. Many scholars note that the Safavids, who had a

secret practice, initially belonged to the Sunni madhhab. See: Ö ng ö ren R. , " *S ü nni Bir Tarikattan Ş ii Bir Devlete : Safeviyye Tarikat ı ve İ ran Safevi Devleti* ", Bilgi ve Hikmet Dergisi , say ı 11, y ı l 1999, s . 82.

42. İbn Bəzzaz Ərdəbili, *Safvətüs-səfa, Dər tərcümə-yi əhval-I və əkval və kəramət-I Şeyx Səfiyəddin İshak Ərdəbili* , Qulamrza Tabatabayi Məcd nəşri, Təbriz, Naşir Musahhih, Tabistan 1373 hş., s. 140.

43. Gölpınarlı, *Məlamilik* , s. 198.

44. *The same work* , pp . 198-199.

45. Soysal AA, *XVII. Yüzyılda Bir Bayrami Məlami Kutbu: Oğlan(lar) Şeyh(i) İbrahim Efendi* , Hacettepe Üniitesi Tarih Bölümü Doktora Tezi, Ankara 2005, s. 113.

46. Öngören R., " *Şeriatın Kestiği Parmak: Kanuni Süleyman Devrinde İdam Edilen Tarikat Şeyhleri* ", İLAM Araştırma Dergisi, 1/1 (Ocak-Haziran 1996), s. 123-140; Işın E., *İsmail Maşuki (Oğlan Şeyh)* , Diyanet İslam Ansiklopedisi, p. IV, s. 214-215.

47. Dogan A., p. 158.

48. This is confirmed by lines from Gheibi's Sohbetname:

" *Cəddim Tab Tab Şah Əli Həzrətləri viladətimizə bu beytlə işarət eyləmişlər:*

Doğduğu bin tarihidir Hazreti-İbrahimin

İntikal etti cihandan bil o gün kutbi-zaman " – Doğan, s. 159.

49. Gökbulut, *Olanlar Şeyhi* , s. 18.

50. The chain of spiritual succession in the Oglan tariqa of Sheikh Ibrahim, see:. Gökbulut, *Olanlar Şeyhi* , s. 18-20.

51. The same work , p . 21.

52. Oğlanlar Şeyhi İbrahim Efendi, *Usulul-Muhakkıkin* , Türkiyə Nuriosmaniye Kitaplığı, No: 3677, 979-cu beyt.

53. This work, attributed to Abulhasan Ali ibn Uthman ibn Abu Ali al-Hujwiri (d . in 1072), was published in 1926, in Leningrad, by the Soviet orientalist Zhukovsky, with a critical commentary on a copy of the text in Persian, and with a 57-page preface. The scholar notes that he also studied copies of the work contained in Vienna, Tashkent, Samarkand, Leningrad and Paris.

54. Huvciri, *Keşfü`l-mahcub* , s. 60 və d.

55. Əbdürrəhman Cami, *Nəfəhatül-üns min Hadaratil-qüds* , Türkiyə Süleymaniyyə Kitabxanası Aşir Efendi Bölümü, No. 177, vr.5.

56. Gölpınarlı, *Məlamilik* , s. 19.

57. *I'm sorry* , p. 23.

58. Merçil E., " *Simcuriler I: Simcur ed-Devati* ", Tarih Dergisi, sayı XXXII, March 1979, Istanbul 1979, s. 71-88; Merçil E., " *Simcuriler II: İbrahim b. Simcur* ", Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, sayı X-XI, sene 1979-1980, İstanbul 1981, s. 91-96; Merçil E., " *Simcuriler III* ", Tarih Dergisi, sayı XXXIII, March 1980/81, Istanbul 1982, s. 115-132; Merçil E., " *Simcuriler IVI Ebu Ali b. Ebu`l-Hasan Simcuri* ", TTK Belleten, cilt XLIX, sayı 195, Ankara 1985, s. 547-567; Merçil E., "

Simcuriler V: Ebu`l-Kasım b. Ebu`l-Hasan Simcuri ", Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi, sayı XIII, Sene 1983-1987, İstanbul 1987, s. 123-138.

59. The Ghaznavids (962-1187), overthrown by a Samanid emir named Sabuk Tegin, originally from the Karlug Turks, were the largest state in the Islamic world during the reign of Sultan Mahmud (999-1030). In 1040, defeated in the Battle of Dandanaqan, the Ghaznavids became vassals of the Seljuks after that date. With the Ghaznavid rule, the Gurlu state came to an end. See: Merçil E., *Gazneliler Devleti Tarihi* , Anakra, TTK 1989; Necef EN, *Karhanlılar* , İstanbul, Selenge 2005, p. 269.

60. The Muhtajids, who were a small dynasty, emerged as a result of the weakening of the Samanids in Maverannahr. See: Merçil E., " *Muhtaçoğulları* ", Fikret Işıltan Armağanı, İstanbul 1995.

61. The Sajids' state which ruled Azerbaijan in 889-930 was founded by Muhammad Afshin, the son of the Muslim emir Abu Saj Duvdan, of Turkic origin, originally from the Ushrushana region of Fergana. The greatest ruler of this state was Yusif ibn Abus-Saj. See: Yıldız HD, *Azerbacyanda Hüküm Sürmüş Bir Türk Hanedanı: Sac Oğulları* , İstanbul 1979 (Tarih Dergisi, ayrı basım).

62. It is known that Shams Tabrizi, who had a profound influence on Movlana, was a Malamite. See: Gölpınarlı, *Məlamilik* , p. 197.

63. For details about yasawiyya, see: Köprülü MF, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar* , Ankara, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı 1984, s. 30-165; Köprülü F., *Ahmet Yesevi* , Islam Ansiklopedisi, p. I, s. 210-215.

64. Ocak AY, *Türk Sufiliyine Bakışlar* , İstanbul, İletişim 2004, s. 55.

65. The term "heterodox Islam", introduced by one of the most prominent researchers of the history of tasawwuf M. Fuad Köprülü, should be understood, as Ahmet Yaşar Ocak also notes, in the sense of "Turkic folk Islam". In this context, the concept of Islam, which, starting from Yasaviyya and up to Alevism-Bektashiyya, was accepted by the broad Turkic masses, is more appropriately designated as "Turkic Islam", or "Turkic folk Islam". Since, in the formation of the concept of "Turkic folk Islam", recognized as heterodox, there was a strong influence of ancient Turkic belief systems. For more details on this, see: Ocak AY, *Alevi ve Bektaşi İnançlarının İslam Öncesi Temelleri* , İstanbul, İletişim 2003, p. 113-182.

66. According to De Weese, "Aslan Baba was a merchant living under the influence of shamanism." See : De Weese D., " *Foreword* ", Early Mystics in Turkish Literature Translated and Edited with an Introduction by Gery Leiser and Robert Dankoff, Routledge, London and New-York 2006, p. XVII.

67. Ateş A., *Nizami* , İslam Ansiklopedisi, c. IX, s. 325

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